WORKERS OF THE WORLD. UNITE

IV

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The End of the Labor Cabinet

Wall Street Cracks the Whip and MacDonald Jumps

The second Labor party government of England has pased into limbo, and its departure will not be marked by the slightest feeling of regret by any class conscious worker. For twenty-six months, it limped along on the unsteady crutch supplied it by the sufferance of the Liberal party votes. The unemployment problem which it undertook to solve when it assumed office has not only been left without solution, but has increased in magnitude and acuteness. The workers' standard of living which it so nobly promised to preserve, has sunk to a lower level—no struggle of resistance to wage cuts met with anything but a frown and implicit sabotage from the statesmen of the Second International. If the Indian workers and peasants did not suffer more than they did under an imperialist regime of blood and iron, it was not for lack of willingness on the part of his majesty's most loyal socialists—Laborite bullets and police clubs were distributed just as freely among the Indians striving for freedom as they were in the wildest days of any Tory government.

If anything, the second appearance of the MacDonald minstry surpassed the first only in the vileness of its servility to imperialism. The kindest thing that can be said about its record in power is that it was just one shade less revolting than the praises sung for it in the United States by Norman Thomas, Oswald Villard, and the refined gentlemen of the same kidney.

MacDonald and the Dole

The Labor government was shivered on the reef of a distinctly class issue. The official register for unemployed on August 10 showed a figure more than double that registered when "labor" came to power. Far from diminishing in bulk, unemployment has come to stricken English economy to stay. Canute could easier command the waves of the sea to recede than MacDonald could decrease the number of jobless or figure out a "good" way of solving the problem. Out of the $600,000,000 deficit estimated for the next budget, some $200,000,000 was calculated as the sum the government would have to advance, nominally as a "loan" to the unemployment insurance fund—the dole—but actually as a subsidy. The dole, which was originally conceived as a "self-sustaining" institution has been met for almost nine years by a permanent government contribution. Entirely unwilling and unable to cut the Gordian knot with a socialist sword, the idol of the social democracy proposed to solve the problem in as reactionary a manner as any "objective" Tory would endorse: Cut the wretchedly inadequate dole by ten percent. Cut the paltry wages of the civil service employees. Erect a reactionary tariff wall—ten percent—largely affecting foodstuffs which the worker pays for and consumes. That will balance the budget and cover the deficit.

And balanced it had to be, for the potentates of Wall Street had cracked the whip! Gone is Britannia's pride and power and glory. When Wall Street cracks the whip, the MacDonalds dance, even if the prouder and more aristocratic Chamberlains only shuffle around stiffly. Since July, the gold withdrawals from England to France and the United Staes have taken on serious proportions. To meet the pressure thus created upon it, the Bank of England was compelled to borrow a quarter of a billion dollars, equally divided between the Bank of France and the United States Federal Reserve Bank. But these credits advanced to sustain the price of sterling bills has been almost completely exhausted. More credits must be secured to maintain the fragile par quotation for sterling. And where are they to come from if not from the United States? But the New York Federal Reserve Bank, already deeply enough involved politely referred its humble client to "private bankers". Under this term is concealed the name of the House of Morgan, Britain's fiscal agent in the United States for decades. But before another penny is to be advanced to England, the American bankers demanded guarantees. Balance the budget! To make it plainer, if it were not plain enough, the British banks elucidated: Cut the dole, cut wages—cover the deficit with the stripped hide of the proletariat.

The Collapse of the Cabinet

But the hide of the proletariat is not so lightly stripped. How strong the resentment of the British proletariat is against MacDonald's brutal "economy plans", proceeds clearly from the split in the Labor party's ranks. Labor cheapjacks of every description, from the "Left" wing leaders of the trade unions to the reactionary Henderson, cut loose from MacDonald only out of fear that the workers might cut loose from them so violently as to end in the camp of Bolshevism. Unable therefore, to stand pat with a united cabinet, the MacDonald ministry has fallen, cut to pieces by American imperialism. A new cabinet has been patchedup, composed of all the parties, from Baldwin to MacDonald. Why does the latter remain prime minister instead of turning the office over to the former? Because the tenture of office of the new cabinet is confined to the period necessary for executing the exemptory demands of the Yankee oligarchs. Only the humble, plebian, christian MacDonald is low enough to execute so menial and humiliating a task. It is too debasing a job for the high-born Sir Neville Chamberlains, aristocratic Lord Irwins and Sir Samuel Hoares, or even country squires like Baldwin. A fine role for the socialist statesman of the new order! Yet why not? If one must act as a footstool to imperialism, why not crawl under the feet of the mightiest imperialism in the world?

It will not be for long. Four weeks or four months, and MacDonald's day is done, perhaps never to return to that position again. Feeling is running high against him in the ranks of his own party. The men whom only yesterday he threatened with expulsion from the Labor party are now joined with others to threaten him, MacDonald, and Snowden with the same measure. The mood of the working masses is unmistakable. Nothing but a high tide sweeping towards the Left could wash so inveterate a reactionary as Hendreson away from his moorings. From now on and for a long time, every day will be field day for his demagogues and windjammers in the British labor movement. Every rogue, every former henchman of MacDonald, every clever artificer of phrases will seek to capitalize on the growing discontentment of the workers. Far and away in the lead in this despicable game—it is not difficult to foretell—will be the Maxtons and the Wheatleys and the Citrines who themselves crawled out of the MacDonald swamp only the day before. A tragedy, too. For there is no doubt that these Left wing I. L. P. experts in radical talk and timid inaction (to say nothing of outright treason at the "proper time") will reap the rich harvest of proletarian dissatisfaction, of working class antagonism to MacDonald and his "new economy", of working class desire and demand for militant action—the rich harvest which the Communists should reap, but which they appear to be still incapable of even approaching.

Over this whole vast canvas of events, which will still unroll before us in all their enormous economic and political consequences for England and the rest of the world, the Communist party is not to be found occupying the place which logically belongs to it. Its name is not even mentioned. It lies somewhere in an obscure corner—groggy, crippled and bleeding from the thousand wounds which a cruelly irresponsible bureaucracy in the Comintern has inflicted upon it for six years. What a horrible price is being paid for the victories of Stalinism. . . .

—MAX SHACHTMAN.

34 Kentucky Miners Framed; 18 On Trial In Pennsylvania

Unity of Conflicting Defense Movements Needed to Strengthen the Struggle

Before the echoes of the big strikes in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky have died out, and while the rumblings of new anti-starvation rebellions are being heard again in the coal fields, miners by the dozens are being dragged into coal operators' courts to be railroaded to the electric chair or to long terms of imprisonment. The coal barons thirst for vengeance upon the miners who dared to fight against the dreadful exploitation to which they were submitted. Their thirst will be slaked only when the corrupt judges have put through the frame-up charges and send the mine militants to death in the electric chair or to a living death in prison.

In Harlan, Kentucky, the grand jury is still in session and continues to turn out one indictment for murder after another. The thirty-four miners who are up for trial in connection with killings that occurred last May at Evarts with four fatalities, now have more than a hundred indictments issued against them. A new legal assassination is being planned by the Kentucky barons of coal and their judical serfs. This time it is to be executed with dispatch and on a mass scale so that there may be less opportunity to arouse a powerful workers' protest movement in time. The prosecution is fully determined to send the 34 coal miners to the electric chair.

18 on Trial in Washington

In Washington, Pa., the trial of another 18 miners has begun. Were it not for the tragic implications of the case, its farcical aspects would assert themselves. In this principality of coal and steel, the jury was selected secretly. The defense attorney was not even given the right to question prospective jurors. Defense representatives who merely attempted to copy the names of the jurors were run out of the courtroom. Press representatives, at least of the **Daily Worker** and the **Federated Press,** are refused admittance to the court sessions which are held in virtually star chamber style. The most despicable feature of the whole trial, which may end with five years terms for each of the defendants involved is the fact that looming directly behind the prosecution are the two principal officials of the Pittsburgh district of the United Mine Workers of America, Pat Fagan and Phil Murray, two men who have grown fat on their betrayals of the coal miners for years gone by.

It was at a meeting in Canonsburg about a month ago that striking miners came to a Fagan meeting at which he was trying to act his role of scab herder as best he could under the circumstances. Surrounded though he was by his armed thugs, Fagan got the short end of the stick in a struggle that took place. As a result of the fight, the eighteen defendants, led by Leo Thompson, one of the most active strike organizers, have been indicted for conspiracy, unlawful assembly and inciting to riot. not to speak of assault and battery. They will have the "consolation" of knowing that besides the coal operators standing behind the prosecution, the official spokesmen of the A. F. of L. bureaucracy is giving all the aid and comfort it can to the state's forces.

Harlan and Washington—these are the two group cases of frame-up victims which stand out most prominently in the class war in the coal fields. They are not the only ones, for there are dozens of smaller cases being fought in almost every section of the active mining territory. But they are the most dramatic examples of the determination of the coal barons and their court to railroad fighting workingmen to the electric chair or to years of imprisonment.

And unless the whole working class is immediately aroused to a comprehension of the imminency of the danger to these fighters, the records will contain another victory for capitalist class justice. Every minute lost now is a minute that cannot be regained. In both cases, the plan of the prosecution is a swift trial, swift execution of sentence. They are dominated by the fear of a rising protest movement. Such a movement must really swell to such proportions that it will destroy the malevolent plans of the prosecution.

The protest movement must have the widest possible foundation and scope. Throughout the country, the Left wing must be in the fore to assemble all the workers' organizations on a united front basis so as to spike the game of the judical assassins. Anybody who places the separate interests of one group above the interests of the united movement is playing directly in to the hands of the prosecution. Unfortunately, there is more than a tendency to pursue such a disastrous course. particularly in the case of the Harlan miners. The press of the I. W. W. on the one hand, and of the I. L. D. and the official party on the other, are filled with mutual denunciations. Each claims the exclusive "rights" to the defense of the Kentucky victims as though the case were a piece of private property. Each makes extravagant charges against the other's alleged endeavor to make sectarian capital out of the case. The anti-Communist phobia of the present leaders of the I. W. W. is no secret. Just as well-known is the sectarian policy which the I. L. D. has followed under its present leadership. But to allow such a scandalous situation to last for even another day is to compromise hopelessly the cause of the endangered miners and the movement for them that must be built forthwith No mass movement will be built upon the basis of petty bickerings between the rival defense organizations in the interests of a fantastic prestige. The urgent, unpostponable need of the hour is a joint defense movement of the I. W. W. Defense Committee and the I. L. D. We feel it our duty to say that those who stand in the way of this joining of forces, are imperilling the favorable outcome of the defense!

In the meantime, defense funds are desperately needed. Money for the I. L. D. should be sent to its headquarters at 80 East 11th St., Room 430, New York, N. Y. The General Defense Committee of the I. W. W., which is also collecting funds for the Kentucky miners, has its office at 555 W. Lake Street, Chicago, Ill. Give generously, and more than that, act swiftly to forge a well-joined iron ring of solidarity around the frame-up victims of Washington and Kenutcky. Do not permit our fighters to burn in the chair or to rot in the masters' dungeons.

Bureaucrats Sabotage United Front in Chicago Jobless Conference

CHICAGO.—

Immediately after the latest terroristic campaign (murder of four unemployed) of the Chicago bosses and landlords to crush the growing unemployment movement, two leaflets came out. One was from the Chicago district committee, the Communist party; the other issued by the Chicago branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition).

The party bureaucrats' utter inability to analyze a struggle correctly, and correctly to lead the workers in times of tense situations, showed itself very clearly in their leaflet—their main demands being **"We demand death penalty for the murderers of the workers" and "arrest of the policeman and Lieutenant Hardy who shot the workers."**

Verily, verily, verily. One can imagine a muddle-headed person demanding that the capitalist policeman arrest themselves for carrying out their duties as bluecoats in upholding the rights of capitalist property. One can imagine an ignorant worker or a hypocritical politician demanding that the capitalist judges give the "death penalty" to those who are enforcing the bosses' laws and maintaining capitalist order. But certainly you would think that even a Pioneer would know better—let alone a Communist a party official, or the District Committee.

The Chicago branch of the Communist League (Opposition) immediately came out in leaflets (quoted verbatim in Aug. 15th issue of the **Militant**) and open air meetings pointing out the urgency of immediately organizing a genuine united front movement of all Chicago working class organizations in order effectively to protest against the boss' murders, in order to resist the bosses terrorism, to expose the smoke-screen of the "Red scare" and in order to wage effectively the struggled of the employed and the unemployed for the six-hour day, immediate relief, etc.

The objective conditions have forced the party officials to accept certain of the Opposition's unemployment proposals, as witness the United Front Unemployment Conference held August 16th at the People's auditorium in Chicago. This Unemployment Conference was a preliminary one, so to speak, having two purposes: (1) to organize all possible forces in preparation for the September 13th Conference so that delegates are present from all possible working class organiztiaons in Cook County and (2) to elect a delegation of 25 to present the demands of the Unemployed Councils to Governor Emerson's fake Relief Committes.

This is what happened. Rybicki who had physically forced Hugo Oehler away from the hall entrance but a short time before, opened the United Front Unemployment Conference in the name of the T. U. U. L. and assisted in electing the chairman, vice-chairman and secretary. Slips of paper were passed around with

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Half-Hearted Stalinist About Face On Issue of Credits to Soviet Union

For the first time since the leader of the Communist party, Earl Browder condemned as "social fascism" the proposal of the Left Opposition that the Communists demand long-term credits to the Soviet Union as an aid to the Five Year Plan in Russia and to the unemployed here, we find an obscure, shame-faced and devitalized adoption of the idea by the Stalinist bureaucracy. According to the **Daily Worker** of August 25, 1931, the last of 12 demands presented to the New York City administration by the Unemployed Councils of Greater New York is the following: "The city administration shall recommend to the Federal Government establishment of more favorable trade relations with the Soviet Union."

Such a pitiful attempt to smuggle a third of the idea distorted at that, into the official movement, by the back door will never do. What do "more favorable trade relations" mean? They mean first of all the demand for Soviet recognition by the U. S., and even more than that, the immediate extension of hundreds of millions of dollars, in the form of long-term credits, to Russia, enabling it to purchase machinery badly needed at the present time, which will, in turn require the opening of numerous factories for work on the machinery ordered. They can mean nothing else, and the Unemployed Councils and the whole Left wing movement must say so openly and loudly. We are not so much concerned with having Mayor Walker and Co. "recommend to the Federal Government" the execution of this plan. What the Communists must do is to initiate the most extensive movement possible for the plan, throughout the ranks of the working class, in unions, among the unemployed. That is the way to make the demand powerful. There is an opportunity to connect the needs of the unemployed **concretely** with the Soviet need for credits and machinery. There is a magnificent opportunity to have the workers demand that at least some of the hundreds of millions of dollars advanced by the U. S. to bolster up the collapsing capitalist systems of Germany, England, etc., shall be diverted as credits to the workers' republic.

The proposal of the Left Opposition has been sabotaged by Browder and Co. for two reasons: first, it involves a refutation of their fantastic theory of national socialism; secondly, it originated with the Opposition. No other argument has even been advanced against the idea and the need for a national (and international) campaign for it. The obscure, timid demand of the New York Unemployed Councils is one small step in the right direction.

M. Payer Arrested in St. Louis

Just as we go to press, a telegram from comrade H. L. Goldberg of St. Louis announces the break-up of an Opposition meeting in that city and the arrest of the speaker, comrade Martin C. Payer.

The meeting was held on the corner of Broadway and Park under the auspices of the St Louis branch of the Communist League of America (Opposition). During its course, the police set upon the meeting and broke it up. Comrade Payer. who was on the platform, was arrested and is now being held for trial in police court.

The local Opposition comrades intend to make a strong free speech fight to compel the St. Louis police to back down from their high-handed methods. Every effort will be made to assure the Left Opposition and all other labor and revolutionary organizations the right to hold public meetings without the interference of the police.

As one of the steps in the free speech fight, comrade John Edwards of Chicago is to speak on Sunday, September 13, in the Central Library of St. Louis at 8 P. M. On the same day. at 2 P. M., Edwards will speak in Staunton, Illinois, one of the rebel mining sections. Workers in both Staunton and St. Louis are urgently invited to attend the Edwards meetings and in particular to help build and strengthen a movement in St. Louis against the police hounding of militant labor meettings and agitators.

Anti-Communist Arrests in Canada

Communist Party Leaders Seized and Held by Dominion Authorities under Sedition Act

Communism in Canada is to be subjected to its first major political trial. Proceeding on the instructions of the Attorney-General of Ontario under section 98 of the Criminal Code, federal, provincial and city police officials combined forces August 12, to raid the party headquarters and effect the arrest of several leading members of the Central Committee. Among the comrades for whom warrants had been issued were Tim Buck, secretary of the Party, M. Bruce, editor of the **Worker;** T. Ewan, secretary of the Workers Unity League John Boychunk, Tom Hill and Sam Carr. Bail has been set at $15,000 each. The September Assizes will determine whether the Communist party continues its semi-legal existence or is forced completely underground.

Originally enacted by order-in-council in 1919, the section in question was incorporated into the Criminal Code in 1927. It reads as follows: "Any association, organization, society or corporation whose professed purpose or one of whose professed purposes is to bring about any governmental, industrial, or economic change within Canada by use of force, violence or physical injury, or which teaches, advocats, advises or defends the use of force, violence, terrorism or physical injury to person or property, or threats of such injury, in order to accomplish such change, or for any other purpose, or which shall by any means prosecute or pursue such purpose or professed purpose, or shall so teach, advocate, advise or defend shall be an unlawful organization." Anyone convicted of being a member of, or defending such an organization or having its literature in his possession may suffer a penalty of twenty years imprisonment.

Canada in the Crisis

Governmental resort to section 98 marks the culminating point in a policy of sharpened police repression. Involved in the common crisis of world capitalism, economic conditions in the Dominion have grown progressively worse. Exports have suffered a catastrophic decline, multitudes of Western farmers are literally destitute. industrial unemployment has reached unprecedented dimensions. At the Federal elections that carried him into office, the millionaire leader of the Conservative party promised to "take such measures as will provide for the giving of work to every man and woman in this country prepared to work", But in the nature of things, the Bennett Government could as little solve the problems of capitalist anarchy as the preceding Liberal regime. Higher customs tariffs in a world of capitalist states all engaged in raising trade barriers, can only accentuate the general chaos. The Imperial Conference which Mr. Bennett sought to instruct resulted in mutual insults. The masterly stroke

Increase the Spanish Press Fund to 200 Dollars!

From our comrade Henri Lacroix in Madrid, we have received the following additional details on the "Trotsky vote" in Santander about which we spoke in our last issue:

"The Executive Committee of the Spanish Communist Opposition, receiving the adherence of a group of comrades from Astillero (Santander), received at the same time the information that some of the workers voted for comrade Trotsky in the last elections to the Constituent Cortes. The news reaches us after some delay, for up to this time we had no friends in Santander.

"Trotsky received 78 workers' votes. How did this happen? The C. P. had presented no candidate in this district and the local Communists demanded ballots from a neighboring locality but in these ballots were inscribed only four names, whereas the number of candidates from the district should have been five. The Communists and sympathizers of Astillero decided to write in the name of the founder of the Red Army in the Communist list. 78 workers who lead and guide the only labor union in Astillero, who voted for Trotsky, told the Stalinist bureaucrats that Trotsky is considered by them the soul and the guide of the world revoltuionary movement. Trotsky, the red soldier of the proletarian revolution, upon receipt of the news, hastened to send a friendly letter of greetings to these comrades.

"The Spanish workers vote for Trotsky. The Republican reactionary government which, after having stated from the lips of its minister for foreign affairs that it would give Trotsky authorization to live in Spain, has come out against the request for a visa made for our comrade and will have to listen to the voice of the workers. . . ."

The Santander incident is highly symptomatic. It is a straw in the wind. The future is with the Left Opposition—but only if it can measure up to the tasks of the present. Handicapped by lack of the necessary funds, our comrades have appealed to the revolutionary militants throughout the world to lend their aid in the efforts to issue a weekly organ of the Spanish Left Opposition, an imperatively needed antidote to anarcho-syndicalist poison on the one hand Maurinist confusion on the other, and finally, to Stalinist irresponsibility and calumny. We are anxious to send from the United States a minimum of two hundred dollars, and we are confident can be raised. The need is great and must be met. Funds should be forwarded immediately to A. Gonzales, c-o **The Militant,** 84 East 10th Street New York, that with a little extra effort the sum N. Y.

Additional contributions received since the last issue are as follows:

(All New York): A. Gomez: .10—Un Comunista: .50—D. B.: 1.00—A. Brandmark: .25—John Justin: .25—Sympathizer: 3.95—W. H. Hermann: 5.00. Previous total: $144.76. Grand total to date: $155.81

Draft of the Thesis on the Trade Union Question

The question of trade union policy today involves primarily the problem of organizing the unorganized industries which, in its immediate sense, means the possibilities and perspectives of the new industrial union movement. But a correct approach to this problem must equally take into account the present position of the American Federation of Labor and similar types of existing unions as well as their future perspectives. The problem of the former is closely bound up with a correct attitude toward the latter.

The vigorous growth of the American trade union movement and its militant struggles during the immediate post war stage of 1919-22 witnessed a change to a severe downward curve lasting throughout the period of bourgeois prosperity up until the most recent developments. Strikes decreased progressively, both in actual numbers and in numbers of participants. The trade unions deteriorated ideologically, decreased numerically and became weakened. The workers were lulled into a false sense of security. The unions failed entirely to take advantage of the bourgeois prosperity to strengthen their position. With the advent of the present world wide crisis, the heavy unemployment and the consequent slashing capitalist offensive upon the working class standard of living the A. F. of L. unions had reached the lowest ebb.

The Prospects for the New Militant Unions

The prolonged crisis now the outstanding feature of capitalist economy, the misery of unemployment and the drastic reduction of the working class standard of living is reaching a degree of pressure which compels the workers to begin to seek the ways and means of resistance, and for those who are unorganized, to begin to seek organization. In this direction, the first manifestations are today visble in the mining and textile industries. And it is not at all accidental, as it is precisely here that the pressure upon the workers has been the heaviest. Therefore, similar manifestations may soon be expected in other industries as the pressure increases.

Thus the first half of 1931, despite the prevailing growing unemployment commences an upward curve in working class resistance and in militancy within the labor movement. It records an increae in strike movements. While these workers are still fighting entirely on the defensive, what is particularly new is the fact that, to an increasing degree, Communist leadership in these developing struggles is being accepted by the workers so often betrayed by reactionary leaders. On a whole the present objection situation marks the possibilities for the revitalization of the new union movement and the prospects for its attaining a mass basis. A factor contributing to these prospects is the more rapid narrowing of the proletarian basis within the A. F. of L. unions in recent years, the almost complete destruction of the United Mine Workers. Similarly, the continued absence of vitality within these unions; their utter failure to undertake any actual organization whatever among the unorganized industries; the proclamation by Green for the organization of the automobile industry, which never even reached a serious discussion stage; the feeble attempts at organization in the South which came to naught.

The organization of the unorganized through building the new industrial unions stands today more than ever as the center of gravity. To the Communists, it must become a serious duty and an imperative task, with the further deepening of the economic crisis and the wage-cutting campaign the present trends of resistance will develop into definite prospects for sharpened class batles. Even a possible early revival of capitalist economy could not seriously alter this perspective.On the contrary it will make more certain the coming workers' offensive for a revival can be accomplished only at the cost of heavier burdens upon the workers. Thus, the prospect for a rising movement is on the order of the day. In that particularly lies the favorable objective possibilities for the new industrial unions.

Should the Communists fail to utilize these possibilities, or to apply the correct tactics and methods which can insure successful developments of the new industrial unions and establish revolutionary leadership, such unions will be built without the Communists or in opposition to them. This problem still hangs in the balance between the alternative of revolutionary or reformist leadership. The former spells progress; the latter, defeat to the working class. In this sense the coming period will become a crucial one.

The Position and Perspectives of the A. F. of L. Unions

Since the beginning of the crisis, the A. F. of L. unions, as well as the independent unions of the Railway Brotherhood type, have been utterly unable to maintain their gains of the past—mostly gains easily won. They retreated all along the line and have given up one position after another. The very backbone of the craft unions, the building trades, are facing a growing inability to maintain their contracted wage scale. To an ever increasing degree the workers in this and in similar industries, where the A. F. of L. has its main foothold, are losing their position of craft privilege due to advancing machine technique and other causes. But the reason for deterioration and decline is not only to be sought in these objective conditions, since particularly during the most recent period has the role of the leadership of the A. F. of L. type of unions as agents of imperialism, first of all concerned with the interests of the capitalist system, become glaringly manifest. It has alternated, in conformity to this position, between the deceptive policies of class collaboration and that of outright treason to the workers.

Would this present position of the A. F. of L. type of unions warrant a perspective of their uninterrupted deterioration and decline until their passing out of existence? Does it warrant even a perspective of a progressively diminishing role of their type of reactionary leadership? On the contrary! To preclude prospects of revival, expansion and growth of the A. F. of L. unions, both in influence and in an organizational sense, in the face of a period of coming struggles, would be false. Such prospects can easily materialize by pressure from two directions. First, by the direct pressure of the employers upon the workers to lower their standard of living, compelling these workers to seek organization. Many will undoubtedly join the ranks of the A. F. of L. unions, as their first step while in turn the A. F. of L. unions will be compelled, at least formally, to adapt themselves to these new requirements. Secondly, prospects for expansion and growth can materialize by outright resurrection attempts, by deals with employers who may even give certain concessions in appearance to A. F. of L. unions, out of fear of actual growth of the new industrial unions. That also would spell increasing force to the role played by the labor agents of imperialism.

A possibility of expansion and growth of the A. F. of L. unions embodies the possibilities of growth of genuine progressive sentiment and of radicalization within the membership. For this the pressure of the slashing capitalist offensive is already laying the basis. The increasing pressure and growing resistance throws to the forefront a multitude of problems demanding increasing militancy to approach a solution. Simultaneously, it also terrifically deepens the chasm of the already great contradictions between the vital needs of the masses of the membership and the obstinate reaction of the leaders. Some results have already been shown in rank and file revolts, which prove the absolute need of, and excellent possibilities for the organization of the Left wing within these unions and for conducting the struggle for Left wing leadership.

However, with the growth of coming struggles there will also be increased manifestations within the A. F. of L. and similar unions of the appearances of pseudo-progressives. Even the agents of imperialism in labors' ranks, in order to strengthen their bulwark against Communism, will seek to attract the workers by creating "Left" coverings for their reactionary policies. In this sense the Musteites within the A. F. of L., who are certainly typical of such "Left" cloaks, may be said to be only the forerunners of more definite developments of this character. But it emphasizes further the need of the Communists earnestly directing their attention to organizing the genuine Left wing sentiment. It is necessary to emphasize again that this work must go hand in hand with the central task of organizing the unorganized workers and building the new industrial unions.

The Trade Union Policy of the Lovestone Group

The restatement of a correct policy for Left wing activities within the A. F. of L. unions has nothing in common with the proposals of the Right wing Lovestone group for a return to the old unions via the route of desertion of the Left wing. This has been so much more clearly demonstrated in their recent "practical" proposals for such return. For example, in the New York needle trades their call upon the workers to return, if followed, would mean the outright liquidation of the Left wing; the denial of the right to existence of the Left wing and their return to the bosom of Schlesinger and his agents, is today the actual role played by the Lovestone group. On a similar plane was the call by this Right wing group in the coal miners to cease building a new union and to return to the U. M. U., in the face of their growing revolt against the Lewis machine and their growing struggles against starvation conditions. To return to the Lewis union could mean nothing else but the betrayal of the miners' revolt and struggle.

But it is particularly in the recent developments in the Paterson textile workers' strike that the Lovestone group earns for itself the ineradicable stigma of absolutely shameless renegacy. Already so deeply involved in the cunning schemes of the A. F. of L. bureaucrats, working here in joint partnership with the social reformist Musteites who function as their "Left" come-ons, the Lovestone group has completely adopted the latters' views toward the Communists and toward the official party. It sees in the party's direction of the N. T. W. nothing but a series of "anti-working working class acts", and charges the party with nothing but disruptive and splitting activities in the same tone and spirit that has always characterized the assaults upon Communism by the A. F. of L. hierarchy.

The Lovestone group does not at all see the Communist party as a party of the working class whose interests are inseparably bound up with those of the working class, whose role, despite all the blundering mistakes of the leadership still is the one of leading sections of the workers in struggle for their vital needs. Hence it is natural that this group in the Paterson strike situation, has already become a part of the anti-Communist front, part of the machinations to deceive the workers. In the trade union field, the Right wing discloses its liquidationist course with particular conclusiveness.

The Status of the New Industrial Unions

A survey of the present status of the new industrial unions will reveal the following particularly notably factors: First, there are the most recent signs of great prospects available for the development and strengthening of these unions, their possibility of actually attaining a union basis and a mass basis. Secondly, it is necessary to note the general decline both of organization and in influence of the T. U. U. L. unions, with the exception of some recent limited forward developments. This decline reduced some of them to virtual non-existence, despite its occurrence in a period of objective possibilities for growth. Thirdly there is the development alongside of the T. U. U. L. unions of other new independent unions having their origin either in a revolt against and a split off from the A. F. of L., or in opposition to it—unions with a new type of leadership, distinctly reformist or pseudo-progressive, as for example, the miners unions of Southern West Virginia and Illinois. The main reasons for the first factor mentioned, the prospects of growth for the new industrial unions, have already been indicated.

The reasons for the general decline of the T. U. U. L. unions are not in the main to be sought in the objective difficulties which had to be overcome, although there were such. No! The main reasons are very intimately connected with the false concepts and methods of Communist leadership as practiced by the Centrist regime of the party and of the Comintern. It is necessary first of all to record and condemn the false concepts of revolutionary unions in practise built on a basis which really left room within it only for revolutionists: and only of a certain type, excluding all revolutionists and Left wing workers not willing to accept the Centrist views of the party leadership and unable to submit to its arbitrary factional control. Some of these unions were merely minority sections withdrawn from the conservative unions which had the decisive bulk of the workers within their ranks.

In the second place, it is necessary to record and condemn the false tactics and blundering methods pursued by the party leadership in the new union field. Even the barest semblance of union democracy disappeared from the new unions dominated by the party leadership. They were not granted the least measure of autonomy necessary for unions to operate as such. Functionaries were arbitrarily replaced for reasons of party apparatus interests, without even as much as an explanation given to the membership. Such replacements were made in the National Miners Union and the National Textile Workers Union. Abortive strikes were launched without a consultation or a vote of the membership, as for example the Illinois miners' strike in December 1929 and the later Philadelphia waterfront strike. Often strikes were called without a clear objective or demands, as was the case of the more recent New York needle trades strike of the industrial union. Generally they all wound up in certain defeat. There was a complete absence of activities within the reformist or conservative unions whose members were simply read out of consideration by phrases about "company union" and "social fascism". But above all, the party leadership's failure to apply the united front policy counted heavily in the decline of the new unions of the T. U. U. L. and is today endangering seriously their future prospects.

These are also the very important reasons for the rise of new independent unions alongside of the T. U. U. L. unions. It was precisely because of the failure of the N. M. U., under party direction, that the separate sections of new miners unions like the Southern West Virginia union and the Illinois union, first under the Howat-Walker combination and later under the Edmonson leadership, could come into existence. They are the first example of new unions organized without the Communists, with a pseudo-progressive and reformists leadership, but also anti-Communist in their make-up. Their role is, while today in opposition, to endeavor tomorrow to strike a bargain with the reactionaries, deceive the workers and again return to the reactionary camp.

Such pseudo-progressive leadership, whether it be at the head of new unions or merely functioning as "Left" coverings for the A. F. of L. reactionaries cannot be combatted by the futile hurling of epithets of "social fascism" or by the worse method of alliance with them behind the backs of the workers. The Centrist party leadership swings between these two extremes. Its recoil from the isolation of the "Third Period" antics conceal the danger of repetition of the shameful alliance of the Anglo-Russian Unity Committee. Both extremes only weaken Communist leadership and further strengthens the "Left" coverings for the reactionaries. The latter can be effectively combatted only by unmasking their role of coverings for the reactionaries on the basis of actual experience of the worker through a correctly applied policy of united front struggles, embracing the workers under reformist influence as well as those under Communist influence.

Conclusion

1. The center of gravity of trade union policy today is the organization of the unorganized industries through the building of the new industrial unions. With the prospects of coming serious battles, the possibilities for this work is enhanced. However, among the essential conditions for its success is the necessity of removing all of the false narrowing concepts, all of the factional bureaucratic encumbrances to which the new industrial unions have been subjected. They must be allowed to develop as actual unions, ready to embrace all the workers in a given industry. They must be allowed to develop as mass unions. But serious care should be taken that they retain their militancy, their class objectives, and a revolutionary leadership founded upon revolutionary service and devotion.

2. It is essential and as a process going hand in hand with the organization of the unorganized industries, to take up seriously the work of developing and organizing the potentially growing Left wing sentiment within the A. F. of L. and the new independent unions under reformist domination. Not in order to split off minority sections from these unions but to win their members for Communism. One of the important duties of this potentially developing Left wing must be to defend the objects and principles of the new industrial unions which are under revolutionary leadership. Not only to defend them but to work actively for unity in struggle for class objectives jointly with the new industrial unions. There can be no objection in principle to splits but the fundamental basis must always be the one of winning the majority of the workers for the revolutionary objects. Under conditions where the reformist unions embrace the decisive bulk of the organized workers it is the task of the Left wing to help build and strengthen them but with the avowed object of winning the members and the new recruits for the policies of the Left wing.

3. Particularly in the trade union field are there now rich possibilities as well as an imperative need for a genuine united front policy. Its correct application is a serious duty devolving upon the Communists. The recently developed situation in the mine fields and in the textile industry testify eloquently to this need as well as to its practicality of execution. It can, however, not be carried out under the maneuvers of trying to fool the workers or inviting them to desert the unions to which they belong to enter a so-called "united front from below" under the narrow banner of party controlled unions. Much less can the united front be established by maneuvers behind the backs of the workers of alliances or deals with "Left" comeons. Both methods defeat the very objects and purposes of the united front, weaken Communist influence and strengthen the hold upon the workers by the reformists and reactionary imperialist agents. An honest united front policy implies a recognition of the existing unions as bona fide bodies composed of workers whom it becomes the duty of the Communists to bring together to fight side by side, actually to unite and, in the process, to defeat the deceivers and betrayers and thus to demonstrate the superiority of the revolutionary program, objects and leadership.

Translated into practical action it would mean, for example in the miners situation, that the National Miners Union recognize the unions of Southern West Virginia and Illinois as bona fide bodies of workers who have rebelled against and split off from the imperialist agents of the Lewis machine. The N. M. U. should, upon the basis of such recognition, take the initiative in calling them together to find the best ways and means for a united struggle and to hammer out the common objectives of the struggle. In the textile workers' situation, an approach to a solution should proceed on a similar basis. Such a united front policy, correctly applied, can become a real source of strength to the revolutionary section and contribute toward the defeat of the reformists. The united front policy must become a means to the ultimate establishment of trade union unity.

4. With the further progress of the slashing capitalist offensive, it is to be expected that there will to an increasing degree be a resorting to the most brutal suppression of all the elementary rights of the working class. It is to be expected not merely as a preventive against the workers' resistance but also as a means of continually keeping them on the defensive. Where, in a rising movement, deception and treason may not serve the capitalist employers so well, it will be substituted by open brutal force—increase of injunctions, police persecution, deportations, evictions, denial of political rights, etc., etc. In this situation, it becomes a duty of the Communists particularly to raise the slogan of "fight for the democratic rights of the workers"; to unite the workers' forces and to organize the fight so as to bring out fully its political character and completely connect it with the trade union issues.

5. The Left Opposition will continue its fight fraternally to assist the party toward correct views and practises of trade union policy but unsparingly and intransigeantly against the false maneuvers and blunders of the party leadership. We decisively condemn and will continue our fight unrelentingly against the essentially reformist views of the Right wing Lovestone group, which, in the name of unity, proposes to harness the developing revolts against the A. F. of L. bureaucracy within reformist channels, to bring about their defeat by pleas to return to the old unions. The policy of the Lovestone group is the liquidation of the new unions, the liquidation of the Left wing—and the strengthening of the reactionary imperialist agents. Our policy is the building of the new militant unions under revolutionary leadership and the developing and strengthening of the Left wing wherever the masses are grouped.

6. The Left Opposition proposes this policy to the party, to the Communist movement and to the Left wing trade union workers. Our members wherever they are in the trade union, be it the new industrial unions or in the A. F. of L., will work as a Left Communist fraction fighting for the application of this policy. Continuation of the party leadership in resisting our proposed policy can only urge our members and supporters to intensify their efforts throughout the trade union field.

LETTER FROM TORONTO

The Red Raids in Canada

(Continued from page 1)

of a complete embargo on trade relations with the Soviet Union may possibly satisfy the Archbishop of Canterbury but scarcely contribute to industrial revival.

Meanwhile unemployed demonstrations thrdughout the country have shown the temper of the jobless victims of the system to be rising—they have not always been ready to disperse submissively at the first threatening gesture of the police. Relief has been pitifully inadequate. To proposals for a system of social insurance Bennett replies that never, never, will he undermine the sturdy independence and pioneering spirit of Canadians with the infamous "dole". Fearing the radicalizing effect on the masses of starvation in its several degrees, the possessing classes view the approaching winter with uncertainty and uneasiness. Shortly before prorogation of Parliament, the Cabinet rushed through a bill in terms unparalleled since the War Measures Act conferring dictatorial powers "upon the governer-in-council [that is, itself] in respect to unemployment and farm relief; and for the maintenance of peace, order, and good government in all parts of Canada".

In explanation of this measure Bennett declared that "we will take such action as in the judgment of the executive of this country . . . will free this country of those who have proved unworthy of our Canadian citizenship". He referred to the Immigration Act as already enabling the denaturalization of a naturalized citizen, and of course his subsequent deportation. His relief proposal amounted to a scheme of public works, road construction, etc., to which the registered unemployed will be drafted to work at such wage-rates as the government sees fit. It is a choice between a form of industrial conscription at the lowest possible standard of living or outright starvation. In plain words, the Government gave notice that every manifestation of class consciousness, every attempt to bring home the responsibility for the crisis on capitalism, every movement of industrial or political opposition in the working class to the measures of the government, will be met with censorship suppression, imprisonment and deportation. And the Communists, as the militant leaven, are to be singled out especially.

Police Terror in Toronto

The Ontario provincial authorities have quickly taken their cue. Not that their action will be entirely a new departure. Ever since the advent of General Draper to the police administration in Toronto, so-called civil liberties have been conspicuous by their absence. Draper proceeded to give the most convincing ocular demonstration of Lenins thesis that bourgeois democracy is a sham and a lie. Open-air meetings were dispersed on every occasion by police clubs, speakers were cruelly man-handled and beaten. Hall owners were prevented from renting out their assembly halls by the fear of losing their license. A few pacifists and professors uttered a feeble protest for free speech in the name of "British justice". The "labor leaders" and social-democrats either maintained a cowardly silence or warned the police that their methods would only create more Bolshevism. But the capitalist press with few exceptions virulently urged a holy war of "Christendom" against "Soviet dumping". The pillars of Business and Finance, including the Chief Justice of the Province, gave Draper's faith and works their heartiest approval. Liberalism could only emit its odor of decay.

The latest stage of the persecution of the party is by far the most serious, since it attempts to place the Communist program itself under indictment. Upon the comrades selected by circumstance to represent our doctrine rests therefore a great responsibility,—to utilize the occasion despite the technical difficulties of court procedure, as a forum from which to appeal to the working class. **It is capitalism that must be placed under indictment.** The Communists must show that they have no interests separate and apart from the rest of the workers. If they are on trial at this moment, it is for no "advocacy of force or violence" but because they are leaders in the immediate struggles of the workers against unemployment, against wage-cuts, against capitalist militarism, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for freedom of speech and assembly, etc., and because in the course of these struggles the Communists must expose the mechanism of capitalist exploitation and the class-character of the State.

The Communists make no secret of their aims. Our program is dictated by an objective consideration of the motive forces of history and capitalist society. We are well aware that the government regards the use of "force and violence", whether for the prosecution of war or the suppression of strikes, as its exclusive monopoly. The "democratic" state is the executive of the capitalist class and an organ of exploitation and coercion of the proletariat. If bourgeois democracy is based on consent, it is the "consent" of the victim who has been stunned or drugged. But constitutional problems are in the first place questions of power and legal institutions change with the social structure. The Communists do not "create" revolutionary situations; they only organize the workers to reap the advantage. Revolutionary explosions must occur when the contradiction between the character of the property relations and the mode of production of a given society becomes unbearable. In this sense it is true that on a world scale capitalist economy is ripe for social revolution. But the workers conquest of political power is not a simultaneous act. It is fought out in national forms. Not only is a thorough-going social and political crisis and the sufficient degree of demoralization of the ruling class necessary but a majority of the workers at least must have accepted Communist leadership.

A Trial Out of the Past

The Attorney-General must know as well as we do that the party in Canada cannot yet boast such a following and that there is no immediate revolutionary crisis. If there were such, he must further know that the methods of a jury trial would by mutual consent be altogether inadequate. He has apparently not learned, however, that he cannot for a long time hope to stem the tide of revolutionary agitation, propaganda and organization by proscribing the revolutionists. Bismark's anti-socialist legislation failed ultimately to prevent the expansion of the social democracy and in our day, the Communist movement. Attorney General Price may not have heard of the trial, following the revolution of 1905 of 52 delegates to the Workers Council of St. Petersburg. They were arrested and tried under section 101 and 102 of the Czarist Criminal Code as having "attended and participated . . . in an association which knowingly set itself the purpose of violently overthrowing the legally established form of government of Russia and replacing it with a democratic republic". The proportions are different but the example is instructive. The 52 were condemned to long terms of imprisonment and Siberian exile. With what results?

There can be no question of the position that every class-conscious worker must take up towards this trial—absolute, militant, intransigeant struggle against the forces of reaction. The workers must organize in a broad united front, whatever their political or industrial affiliations, to protest against the wave of terror which the capitalist authorities have let loose against the militants of their class. Every ounce of energy must be thrown into the defense of the comrades and the right of the party to continue above ground. We Communists of the Left Opposition have serious internal differences with the Centrist leadership of the party touching policy and principle. We do not minimize the importance of these differences for a correct revolutionary Marxian development of the party, but that cannot deter us from rallying to the party in every crisis and emergency and for a united struggle against the reaction. We ask today as before to be re-instated in our membership rights and we are prepared to submit our dikerences to be resolved by the processes of party democracy.

Toronto, August 1931.

—MAURICE SPECT

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DISCUSSION ARTICLES

2. The Meaning of the American Crisis

(Continued from Last Issue)

D. The thesis does not show clearly whether its perspectives are for a long or a short period, in politics or in economics. The political perspective of increased sharpness of the class struggle for the next few years, even in the face of some revival in capitalism, is sound because it proceeds from the sound premise that this revival will be based on wage-cutting and the consequent aggravation of class contradictions. A long-term perspective of revolutionary upsurge, however, is not compatible with a long-term economic perspective which includes the possibility of a complete recovery of American capitalism, over a period of time, from the depths of the present crisis to the heights of 1929. On the long-term perspective the position of the thesis appears to be ambiguous, as it fails to exclude the possibility of a "Victorian age" of American imperialism, parallel to the development of British imperialism in the nineteenth century.

The second conclusion which we shall attempt to prove is that there are differences between the position of American economy at the present time and the economy of England in the nineteenth century of such a far-reaching kind that the methods which proved successful for England cannot be successful for America, and that therefore American imperialism cannot restore a high level of prosperity.

A. The first of these basic differences is the existence of contradictions in America's world position which no European power has ever had to face. England developed markets on the basis of selling them finished goods and buying their raw materials and foodstuffs, America is a major exporter of both raw materials and manufactures, and its internal economy is built on a certain equilibrium between the two.

When England developed raw material production in foreign backward countries colonies or semi-colonies, it had little home production of such commodities, and after the decisive defeat of the agricultural Conservative interest in 1923 willing sacrificed its limited home agriculture. In the United States, nearly half the population is still agricultural, and a much larger proportion is engaged in the production of 60% of the world's copper, 55% of the world's iron ore 44% of the aluminum, 67% of the petroleum etc., that is, in the extractive industries producing industrial raw materials. Development of production of such commodities in foreign countries would simply aggravate the competition of the world at large with American exports of raw materials. Unless production of such goods in backward countries were increased, exploitation of such countries would be impossible.

There is therefore a contradiction between America's position as the world's greatest producer of raw materials and its need, forced by the pressure of excessive productive facilities, for exploitation of foreign markets. This contradiction did not exist for the older imperialist nations, who produced relatively little raw material.

Government figures have been cited to show that the percentage of manufactured products in total U. S. exports has increased from 30.7% in 1910-1914 to 50.2% in 1930, while the percentage of crude materials and semi-manufacturers declined from 49.5% to 35.5%. The Department of Commerce lists gasoline, kerosene, fuel oil, lubricating oil, etc. as manufactured products, although in many cases they represent less "value added by manufacture" than such items as copper ingots or steel billets, classed as semi-manufacturers considering all work done from the original extraction of ore (or crude petroleum) to final shipment ready for export. These four classes of refined oil products averaged in value, during 1910-1914, $114,400,000, or 5.37% of total exports; in 1930 they totalled $432,715,000, or 11.44% of total exports. Transferring this item alone from manufacture to semi-manufacture would give the following comparison:

Percentage of Total Exports	1910-14	1930
Dept. of Commerce figures		
Raw & semi-mfd.	49.5%	33.5%
Finished mfrs.	30.7	50.2
Revised, to allow for oil products as semi-mfd. products		
Raw & semi-mfd.	54.9	44.9
Finished mfrs.	25.3	38.8

Without going into other criticisms of the official data, it will be clear that American economy has not yet adjusted itself to a basis of exporting finished products predominantly; it therefore follows that development of raw material resources abroad will aggravate the position of basic raw material industries in the U. S.

B. A second contradiction in America's world aims is based on the fact that its export markets are largely based on developed industrial nations, not on backward ones. The countries which took 4% or more of total American exports in 1930 were: United Kingdom 17.6%, Canada 17.2%, Germany 7.2%, France 5.8%, Japan 4.3%, a total of 52.1% to America's sharpest competitors.

British imperialism did not grow by exporting to Britain's competitors, but to backward countries. American imperialism in crushing and displacing European competition, is at the same time reducing the buying power of its (at present) best markets; another contradiction which weakens the effectiveness of imperialism as a solution of America's crises, both present and those to come.

American capitalism as a whole cannot solve its problem by increasing its sales to India and China and reducing its sales to England and Germany; the standard of living of the Indian or Chinese worker is and must be kept lower than that of the European or American worker for capitalism to make a profit on the former, but this means that the new markets must be narrower than the old. The problem can be evaded for a short time by increased exports of productive goods such as rail-material, mining machinery, etc., but this cannot be a serious factor in comparison with the actual displacement of raw material production by America to similar production abroad.

E. By the end of 1929, it was estimated on the basis of a questionnaire that American "direct" investments abroad, meaning factories, mines, plantations, etc., owned outright by American and not in the form of bonds or stocks (finance capital), amounted to over 71/5 billions of dollars. To this extent the American bourgeoisie is profiting by the direct exploitation of a foreign proletariat, and to this extent is shifting the scene of its contradictions from at home to abroad. Such a shifting solves the problem of the individual capitalist, in realizing a larger surplus value, but aggravates the contradictions of American capitalism as a whole, directly as reflected in unemployment and indirectly by stimulating imports.

F. It has been suggested by some comrades that exports of finance capital in which America is notably strong, may solve the American crisis. Finance capital, as Lenin pointed out, is the spear head of imperialism, the directing, assembling and attacking force of capitalism. But finance capital in itself is not a primary factor in production—it regulates the relations among the exploiting classes. A foreign loan (export of finance capital) unaccompanied by exports of goods, is merely a means of displacing the bourgeoisie of the borrowing country by that of the lending country. This is the difference between such investments and the direct investments just mentioned. American loans to Germany tend to shoulder out the German proletariat, in favor of the American bourgeoisie. Such exports of finance capital favor the growth of a parasitic class of bondholders, obtaining their subsistence from the exploitation of a foreign bourgeoisie and a foreign proletariat. In no way however, can such exports solve the contradictions of the home economy, which are contradictions of productive relations.

F. On the contrary, the growth of such a parasitic element among the American bourgeoisie creates another contradiction—the necessity of a large surplus of imports over exports, with which the surplus values represented by the exported finance capital may be realized. Every mature imperialist power has in the past developed on "unfavorable" balance of trade, that is, the rest of the world produces more goods for it than it has to produce for the rest of the world. The difference represents largely, the interest on its exported finance capital. England at the present time, exports about 60% of the value of its imports; the difference represents the proceeds of imperialist exploitation.

For the United States, however, such a perspective conflicts sharply with its ambition, forced on it by economic necessity, to increase exports to the maximum and reduce imports to a minimum. Clear expression to this ambition was given in the Hawley-Smoot tariff of 1929. When a Czechoslovak shoe manufacturer, for instance, began flooding the American market with cheap shoes, the tariff was promptly raised on him and his markets greatly reduced.

A country such as England, with an atrophied agriculture and little raw material production, has no contradictions to face in developing its import trade. In America, out of 1930 imports totalling $3,061,000,000, the main items were raw silk 263 millions; newsprint (based on the partial exhaustion of American forests) 132 million; coffee, 209 millions; rubber, 140 millions; sugar, 130 millions; burlaps, 54 millions; wood pulp, 74 millions; petroleum and gasoline (of which America produces an enormous surplus herself), 122 millions; copper ores (for refining not a genuine import) 92 millions; and tin, 60 millions. These were all the commodities imported to the extent of 50 millions or more apiece, and together they totalled 1,284 millions, or 42% of total imports.

Exports of finance capital by America therefore create more contradictions rather than solve old ones, unless ways can be found of increasing American imports of silk, sugar, coffee and the like.

G. Behind these contradictions is the basic difference between American and classic British imperialism, that American imperialism enters the arena in a period of world capitalist decline, while British imperialism developed during the world upswing of capitalism, before its contradictions had reached their present maturity. When British imperialism, through exploiting native labor in backward countries greatly increased the total world supplies of raw materials, world markets were still expanding and able to absorb the increased supplies. American imperialism following the same procedure will throw additional supplies on to a world market which is incapable of absorbing the volume of production from existing facilities. This will aggravate its own contradictions, between the developed productive forces of America and of the existing outside world, and the limited and declining world markets.

Since the driving force behind all capitalism is profit, such imperialist conquests, by war or peace, will be carried out, because it is still possible to extract surplus value from backward countries. They will have a different meaning however, from that which similar conquests had for England on the upward swing of capitalism. They will mean for America an increased sharpness of contradictions at home. The development of cotton-growing in India would mean the economic devastation of the South, its retrogression to a pre-capitalist economy based on small self-sufficient farms, and the loss of a great section of the home market to American industry, which still operates to the extent of over 90% for the home market.

On these grounds we deny the possibility of a "Victorian age" for American capitalism. We believe that a revival in the near future, when and if it comes, will be limited in scope, will not be the beginning of a great upward swing that will recover the ground lost since 1929, that the stabilization so achieved will be temporary and that the next crisis will start from a lower plane than the present one. Politically, we believe it correct to infer that the attempt to stabilize capitalism on a lower level will result in greater militancy, and will usher in a period of years of increasing revolutionary upsurge based on increasing economic contradictions and increasingly evident inability of capitalism to solve its problems. Imperialist conquests by America during this period of decline will not result in sufficient restoration of economic health to slow this development up materially. How long such a period can last until a true revolutionary crisis is reached we cannot foretell; it seems most improbable that it will take so long for American capitalism to reach the crisis of its downswing as the hundred or more years that it took to reach the peak of its upswing, which we believe was passed in 1929. We certainly do not believe that the revolutionary crisis is at hand today or next year. On the basis of the foregoing perspective, however, we do believe that a strategic line laid out for the next year or two on the basis of class resistance to wage cuts could well extend its scope for a longer-range outlook of increasing militancy over a period of years.

—B. J. FIELD.

Social Reformism and a Labor Party

In dealing with social reformism and the labor party the thesis presents a position of correction compared to the previous analysis and although the main points are correct, there are, nevertheless, a couple of points that need further clarification. The thesis says, "Add to this fact that American bourgeoisie is still powerful enough to grant 'concessions' as the growth of reforms, and we not only have an explanation of its expansion but also to calculate upon its growth (not its 'narrowing down') in the coming period." Considering this in relation to, "Abstractly considered to be sure, were there a mass movement which would organize a labor party, the Communists would have to take up the question of working within as a revolutionary nucleus." If we can "calculate upon its growth" then how can we calculate that the labor party "is a matter which has less timely significance today—even abstractly—than in years past, since there is no substantial movement at all for a labor party in the 1932 elections?"

If we consider the crisis and all the economic implications that go with it, as well as the future trend, we can agree that the degree of exploitation is increasing and the standard of living declining. Also considering the weakness of the unions and the Communist party, we can say the trend is toward a narrowing ECONOMIC base of social reformism. In other words, the trend of the economic factors favors the revolutionist and not the reformer. Such could not be said (except historically) of capitalism in its growth stage when "granting" crumbs could be well afforded for "peace-development" while today these concessions are for breathing spells of decay capitalism.

In this sense, the economic base for social reformism is narrowing but from this we cannot conclude, as the Stalinists do that reformism is done for—nor can we, by seeing actual growth of reformism, dismiss the problem by saying the base is not narrowing but has ability to widen, as the thesis says.

In realizing the historic limitations of reformism in America (as Trotsky points out) it would be wrong to deny its possible growth (Stalinism) but also wrong to present it as the thesis does. The difference between growth and decay capitalism, which turns around so many problems, also changes the problem of reformism. Reformism can have a narrowing economic base with an ideological growth. As Trotsky says, the support of the social democrats in Germany is not faith in the leadership but lack of faith in the Communists.

Since the developing of American economics is not moving in favor of the capitalists and their social reformers, but in favor of greater class battles and the revolutionist, it follows that the economic base of social reformism is narrowing. But because the economic base is narrowing it does not follow that capitalism will not and cannot grant social reforms. Precisely because the capitalist economic base is sliding, making more insecure its position against the onslaught of the workers, it must "grant" social reforms in order to stem the tide and save a tottering world system.

Material gains of the past and material gains of today as social reforms are different, just like some material gains of the workers favor the social reformers while other material gains favor the revolutionist, the Communist. In other words, social reforms of developing capitalism and social reforms of decaying capitalism have a different base although they both serve the same ends and same masters. But in serving the same ends, the social reformers are not as secure at present as they were in the past, because they don't have the favorable base of yesteryear. This factor is what makes the following sentence in the thesis so vital and the key to the problem, "The proportionate strength of the two parallel streams (social reformism and Communism.—H. O.) will depend in a large measure upon the course pursued by the Commnists."

The thesis must explain social reformism in relation to growing and decaying capitalism and the change of emphasis of some problems from emphasis of objective factors to emphasis of subjective factors. The basic reason for the changed relationship being the OPPOSITE TREND OF OBJECTIVE FACTORS in the growth and decay stages of capitalism.

Further the thesis must not deal with the labor party in the abstract. All indications are that the question of the labor party will be more important in the future than in the past (to a large extent due to the Right wingers and Centrists). This means to present our position on the labor party and farmer labor party, as well as the relation of the two which we are sure to have in complex American developments, yet maintaining the basic correct analysis on social reformism and the labor party as presented in the thesis.

—HUGO OEHLER.

Prospects for the Outcome of the Crisis

No matter what problem of importance we, as a political organization, set ourselves to solve, we are always confronted with the question of the "economic crisis". Our analysis of the development of the latter will determine the position to be taken on the problems of the day. It is for this reason that we must seriously and comprehensively study the various factors at work and the possible solutions in order to determine their degree of likelihood.

There are in the main three paths possible for this country to follow: (1) the crisis grows deeper and deeper, leading either to an imperialist or a revolutionary war, or to both: (2) it continues in the present state of depression; (3) it rises out of the crisis.

There are factors working for the realization of all three of the above, yet the factors working for the third possibility make that one the most likely.

Politics and Economics

Volumes have been devoted to explaining the direct connection and dependence of politics on economics. This is, of course, very true and must always be borne in mind. Yet, and this is also important, politics very often acts as the cause and not the effect, i. e., not as the determining factor for economic trends, but the precipitating factor for accelerating or retarding economic events. Recognizing the above, we shall discuss the question of the crisis in order to show that "America will in most likelihood be able to get out of its present crisis", always remembering that major political events, such as successful revolutions in Germany or Spain or the outbreak of a new imperialist war, will act as the added force to warp completely the following conclusions.

The major factor working for the continuation of the present crisis until a revolutionary overthrow is the Communist party, the labor movement. An objection may be made to my using in practically the same breath the "Communist party" and the "labor movement", and it is precisely in this objection that the weakness of this force lies. The Communist party is but a small, a tiny fraction of the American labor movement. So long as it continues to remain with its present approximate strength or weakness, and unless it radically changes its present tactics, we can predict no rapid rise of its influence or prestige—it cannot play enough of a role to hamper seriously any attempt of the capitalists to issue from their crisis.

A second factor tending towards a solution along, either lines 1 or 2 is the enormously increased "productivity" during the past decade. In connection with this although it makes the solution of the crisis more difficult and the period of the cycle shorter, I do not believe it to be of so potent a nature as to make a solution of the present crisis impossible. Productiveness has always been increasing under capitalism and before one attempts to raise the above as the all-important stumbling block before which American capitalism will be brought to its knees, he should explain why, in spite of increased productivity prior to previous crises, the country always rose from the fragile bridge of the crisis years to broader paths of prosperity.

A crisis, especially the present one, manifests itself in "over-production", "restricted markets" or "large volumes of accumulated stocks on hand", whichever name you desire to apply to the same "surplus of commodities". Therefore in order to rise out of the trough of depression, it will be necessary to extend the "market". Exactly what does the market consist of? The following three major sub-divisions may be made: (1) market for consumers' goods (shoes, clothing, etc.); (2) market for producers' goods (factories, etc.); (3) foreign market. (In connection with this, I believe it should be pointed out that comrade Field makes a fundamental error in his first article by considering the market to consist only of consumers' goods) Exactly as there are two major divisions of the market (foreign falls into the first two), so there are two groups of industries, producing either producers' goods or consumers' goods. If there is the likelihood that the industries of categories 1 or 2, or both will again begin to produce at considerably increased ratio to capacity, as compared to the present, we believe it would be proper for us to conclude that the likelihood is that America will get out of its crisis (always remembering the few vital words pertaining to "politics").

Factors at Work

The following are the factors we contend will act to bring about this change. They will act both independently and complementarily, supplementing and reenforcing each other:

1. Gradually diminishing supply of stocks (primarily in consumers' goods);
2. Re-investment in industry, both in the sense of replacement of constant capital and the expansion thereof;
3. Increased foreign market.

Exactly how will the inter-actions of the points above enumerated tend to start the wheels of industry moving again? In the following manner.

A crisis has as one of its major characteristics a large surplus of consumers' goods stocked up. Because of this large accumulation, the factories producing these commodities temporarily slow down production or in many cases even shut down completely, we thus have the two opposing factors: (1) less is being consumed of this type of goods, because of decreased purchasing power of the masses caused by unemployment and wage-cuts and the impoverishment of the petty bourgeoisie; (2) less is being produced i. e., in both cases "less" after the period of the depression has set in than during the previous period of prosperity. But—and this is the all-inclusive "but"—the point is reached where current consumption exceeds current production. This is obvious upon slight reflection. The working class, although in depressed straits, must continue to live, to eat, to buy clothes. The market consisting of consumers' goods can never go below a certain level—no matter what method the proletariat uses to obtain these necessities of life, they must be gotten. Furthermore, a considerable portion (luxuries, etc.) of the market for category (1) is less affected by the crisis than other portions. I refer here to the big and petty bourgeoisie and to those of the American workers who, even during the crisis, continue to receive their high steady income. No matter what the dynamics of the situation may be, we can say that the supply of stocks on hand in the consumers' industries must decrease. Even the more objective of our bourgeois experts recognize the importance of the above in looking for signs of a let-up. I believe that it was last July that the **Annalist** registered great disappointment because of the failure of a survey of stocks on hand to show any appreciable drop from the beginning of the crisis. Further, by quoting fom "Business Cycles and Unemployment", we find that "during 1921 and the early months of 1922, there was a considerable reduction in the quantity of new materials produced and as a result much of the surplus stock was consumed". The same effect will be recorded at some future date for the crisis of 1930.

Increased activity in production of consumers' goods will mean re-employment of new masses of workers in these industries. Re-employment means more wages and therefore an increase in that part of the market that is formed by wages. An increased market results in even greater industrial activity, etc. etc.

Effects on Producers' Goods

However, the above is but one of the results to be expected as a result of shrinking stocks. A second will be its effect on those industries manufacturing producers' goods. For a period of almost two years, industry has been idle, the incentive to replacement of fixed capital therefore lacking. No sooner do the first signs of the possibility of profit show themselves than the demand for the replacement of parts "worn out" by two years of even idleness (for a certain depreciation occurs in fixed capital whether it is barely used or it is working at capacity). This stimulates production in those industries producing fixed capital (e. g., steel, machinery). Here again we have the ever reflected waves of increased wages, increased market, etc.

Glancing back at the second of the above enumerated factors we read that one of the forces in operation will be that of expanding the constant capital. One of the features of our present crisis is the enormous quantity of money capital available. What greater inducement could there be for investment of large sums in new as well as expanding old enterprises than the low money rates existing at the present time. "A crisis is always the starting point of a large amount of new investments" (Marx).

Who is to predict that this huge engulfer of hours of labor is not to take the form of expansion of new industries. Would not the rise of a new industry act as an enormous market for present day industry in the same manner as railroads did at one time, automobiles at another and radio and airplanes to a greater or lesser degree during the past decade? Let the one who desires the name of the industry guess himself, or perhaps ask his parents why they were unable to predict the rise of the automobile industry.

Foreign Trade

As regards increase of foreign trade, we believe the thesis has taken the proper line of development—by a redivision of the world market. But here however, the thesis is weak in not clearly—although it does mention it—stating the political reverberations that must ensue from a too vigorous pursuit of an aggressive foreign policy. Not for long can Germany or England continue to withstand any serious assault upon their markets without the greatest internal conclusions, upheavals that may, with proper Comintern leadership, lead to the victory of the proletariat in short order. In the main, therefore, the contention that America will attempt to get out of its crisis on the back of Europe is true, but not all-inclusive.

In conclusion, and to sort of very briefly sum up all of the above: America will most likely issue from the present crisis through an expanding market—the expanding market taking the form of increased exports development of new industries, rehabilitation of old ones, and the pick-up to ensue in certain industries because of the inevitable consumption of their surplus products. Made difficult by the enormous increase of capacity for production during the past decade, we nevertheless believe that American capitalism will succeed in extricating itself from its present acute difficulties.

—H. STONE.

In the Struggle of the Shoeworkers

BOSTON.—

After textiles, the shoe industry in New England is the industry second in importance in that area. Of all industries in the section, the shoe industry has been left almost untouched by the economic crisis. Production of shoes increased due to the fact that New England is producing a cheaper type of shoe. Despite all that, the wages of the shoe workers have nevertheless undergone unheard-of slashes, even in such a period of wage cuts as universal in its effects as the present. Average reduction of the workers' pay amounts to 40 per cent for all crafts. The wood-heelers and some of the crafts in the stitching rooms have had their wages decreased in even higher percentages ranging anywhere from 40 to 50 per cent. The wage-cutting campaign is still on, and during the present season the workers have begun to show resistance against it. Workers everywhere in the industry are maturing for organization possibilities, as manifested by walk-outs in several factories. At the moment, the cutters in the Dartmouth factory are out on strike while all the other departments are working.

Unfortunately, there is no union in the field strong enough to give all the shoe workers leadership in the struggles that are looming ahead for them. The Boot and Shoe, the oldest union in the industry, an A. F. of L. organization, is discredited among the workers quite thoroughly, their numerous betrayals are still fresh in the minds of the shoe workers. It has always proved itself to be a servile agency of the State Board of Arbitration calling all genuine revolts against rotten conditions: "outlaw" strikes, and expelling militant locals, as in the Brockton strike in 1922. The United Shoe Workers, at one time a progressive union, with its main, or to be correct, only base in Lynn, have lost their following at present by trailing in the footsteps of the Boot and Shoe. A few more independent local organizations, like the one in Haverhill, actually amount to nothing.

The present critical situation among the shoe workers, their distrust of all leadership is a result of their experiences particularly in the great strike in 1930 in which 12,000 Boston shoe workers participated. The leadership in that strike were a part of the old United machine. No preparations were made, no demands drawn up, even the picketing was not carried on in an organized manner. The strike was spontaneous almost from its inception and took on huge proportions over night. The local leaders felt themselves incapable of handling such a big situation and were ready to receive aid from any quarter that would offer it to them. In this way, many of the Communist party members weaved themselves into the general strike committee. Splendid possibilities were opened up for the Left wing in general. The W. I. R. and the I. L. D. were recognized by the general strike committee as the official aid agencies and representatives of these organizations were invited to speak to mass meetings of the strikers. When Biedenkapp came down to address the workers for the revolutionary Independent Shoe Workers Union of New York, he was enthusiastically received by the strikers.

But, instead of proving to the workers by patient advice and activity in the strike itself, that the Left wing, under the leadership of the Communist party, really represented the will of the strikers and that only a revolutionary leadership can win the strike for them, the party in the midst of the first "third period" flare actually attempted to move the party headquarters into the headquarters of the strike. Instead of working with the rank and file of the strike committee on a united front basis, by our tactics and policies, we even alienated the Left wing workers. A few weeks later, when Foster came down to address a strikers' meeting, called by the party's forces, the meeting was broken up by the shoe workers themselves, and he was not given a chance to speak. The party even then did not realize its mistakes, but rather deceived itself into thinking that the breaking up of the meeting was simply the work of the reactionaries and that the workers were still with us. Disillusioned betrayed and defeated, the workers returned to the shops. Many of them were blacklisted and could not get any jobs at all. . . .

—SHOE WORKER.

The Case of Lieut. Scheringer

A couple of weeks ago, the **Daily Worker,** following on the heels of the rest of the international Stalinist press gleefully announced the adherence to the Communist Party of Germany of more than a dozen former Fascist (National Socialist) army officers who had taken the path marked out for them by the notorious Lieutenant Richard Scheringer. The **Daily Worker,** like the Berlin **Rote Fahne,** proclaimed this "victory" as a sign of the disintegration of Fascism in Germany and the revolutionary progress of the forces of Communism. Had these Fascists of yesterday really rallied to the Communist party on the basis of a revolutionary change of mind, there is no doubt that it would be the occasion for a claim of victory—and a cautious one at that, for they are at best dubious elements. Unfortunately, the facts belie such a claim. It appears that it is not so much the generals and lieutenants of Fascism who have come closer to international socialism as it is the Thaelmanns and Neumanns who have slid down to the level of the demagogy and opportunism of national socialism.

This proceeds clearly from a pamphlet we have just received. Issued in Berlin by a publishing house controlled by the German party, it may be safely assumed that the Stalinists take at least a semi-official responsibility for its contents, particularly when we have yet to find in the official party press a single critical comment on what is said there. The pamphlet is entitled "Erwachendes Volk, Briefe an Leutnant a. D. Scheringer" (The Awakening People, Letters to Lieutenant Scheringer, Retired). Scheringer is the noted Fascist leader, Lieutenant of the Reichswehr, who was recently sentenced to prison for carrying on Hitlerite propaganda in the Reichswehr. In prison, he turned to reflection and finally sent an announcement of his adherence to the Communist party to the Communist fraction in the Reichstag. The sensation created by this step produced a voluminous correspondence between Scheringer and his friends in the Hitlerite camp. Some of the letters and answers by Scheringer are reproduced in the pamphlet. Even more than a revelation of the thoroughly nationalist spirit which still pervades Scheringer's thoughts, despite his "conversion" to Marxism (?), his letters stand as a burning condemnation of the Stalinist leadership in Germany which welcomed him and his similars with open arms and sought to pass off his adherence as a victory for Communism. How Scheringer understands his adherence to Communism, and the basis upon which he is recruiting for it among his friends in the Hitler-Fascist camp, will be eloquently demonstrated by excerpts from some of the letters sent by him from Gollnow prison.

An old friend of his father Lieutenant General Dietrich, writes him in warning against "destructive Bolshevism", exhorting him against it in the name of the "spirit which inspired the German officers' corps", to which this Bolshevik baptized by Thaelmann responds:

"Your letter and the lofty sentiments expressed in it have stirred me deeply. It is the spirit of the old army that speaks here, the spirit of Langemarck and Verdun. The capitalist democratic system has nothing in common with this spirit. The 'national' circles have betrayed the cause of the dead in France just as Wilhelm II betrayed it when he fled to Holland . . . The revolutionary forces of the people must be assembled, and the war of liberation carried to the West (i. e., against France) over the wreckage of the Weimar republic . . . There is no longer any solution except that of the people's revolution. . ."

In answer to the comments of the former leader of the Economic party, Johann Krummacher, our Lieutenant writes: "On the Jewish question we have already spoken recently. I would like to make plain to you once more, in brief, my standpoint in the matter: If one wants to take the ground from under the 'Jewish business spirit', he must eliminate the capitalist system. In a socialist Germany, the gentlemen of West Berlin, the gentlement of Ullstein and Mosse will no longer have anything to say. They know this quite well and that is why they conduct an incitement with all means against Communism and against the Soviet Union. Besides this, it is nevertheless interesting, even if not of fundamental significance, that there is not a single Jew in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germay, while in the Scherl Publishing House of Hugenberg on the contrary, as was notoriously established in court, there are nine representatives of this race. Where do you find the Jewish predominance in the Communist party? . . ."

One could go on for pages with this sickening rubbish were it not for the fact that the strongest stomach has its limits. Enough has been quoted to show the caliber of this new convert to Stalinist national socialism and to indicate the thorough wretchedness of any claim of victory for the German party. In 1919, the Communist Party of Germany was cursed with the "national Bolshevik" faction of Wolffheim and Lauffenberg; but it soon expelled them, and without much ceremony. In 1923, Zinoviev, Radek, Brandler and Froelich carried on their disgraceful "Schlageter policy", the attempt to win the nationalist-minded German soldier and worker on the basis of a capitulatory discussion with the nationalists. But the Schlageters and the von Reventlows were not yet hailed as Bolsheviks, nor were they warmly welcomed into the ranks of the party. In 1931 with national socialist degeneration formally inscribed in the program of the Comintern, the latter-day Lauffenbergs and von Reventlows—the Francophobian Scheringers—are not only taken into the party but their "works" are published by the official party without a flush of shame and with the official imprimatur of the Stalinist legates in Germany. That the editors of the **Daily Worker** join in the chorus may be attributed mainly to their ignorance: they know no better. They are simply politically incapable of distinguishing between the degeneration of the party and its revolutionary progress.

The Left Opposition on the Parliamentary Tribune

Comrade Seipold's Speech in the Prussian Landtag

[We print below the full text of the speech delivered by our comrade Oskar Seipold, member of the Left Opposition of the Prussian Landtag at the session of July 8, 1931, in the debate on the referendum recently held.]

Deputy Seipold (Left Opposition of the Communist Party of Germany): Although I have had the occasion to speak from this tribune on small questions, this is the first time I have had the opportunity to speak here in a larger debate. Organizationally and officially, I do not belong to the Communist party, for reasons which it would be inopportune to explain here, but which are outside of my will. Politically and revolutionarily, I belong entirely to the Communist party and take my place in its Left wing.

The Fascist attack upon the Prussian Landtag is part of its campaign of destruction against the working class, and it is in this sense that every revolutionist will resist these veritable German Mussolinists, on this barricade as well as on others. Outside of this, no revolutionary worker has any interest in preserving the Prussian Landtag or any other Landtag in the Reich. The miserable parcelling out of the state, with all the rubbish and spoliation of the German past, has remained with us as a heritage, and if the mutilated, violated and swindled revolution in 1918 did not put an end to it, it is primarily the fault of the social democracy. We are for a united German republic and we are sure that in a unified republic our Austrian brothers will find themselves together with us. But that is not yet enough for us. (Laughter from the Right. Interruptions: No No.)

We know that Germany is an integral part of Europe, for the debasement, exhaustion and bleeding of which the ruling classes of Germany and the social democracy bear just as much of the responsibility as the ruling classes which imposed the shameful peace of Versailles upon all the peoples of Europe, including those of the socalled victors.

German and America

But even a really unified Germany could no longer exist in a broken up Europe devouring itself. This is precisely what illuminates specifically the miserable position in which the continent, once so proud of itself, finds itself today. The ruling classes of Germany are at the present time on their knees before Mr. Hoover, the perfect representative of American imperialism, of the hierarchy, of the magnates of the trust. of the dollar, and they look up hopefully. Today, in the year 1931, it depends upon when and how Mr. Hoover wil move his index finger as to whether we shall have a few hundred thousand unemployed more or less, as to whether Mr. Bruening goes or remains a few months longer, and what is still more important, as to whether the Reichsbank breaks up or is maintained a while longer. Has it not become a fact that America has put Germany on rations? But just look at France—victorious, proud, sabre-rattling France, which is not in a much different and certainly not in a much better position. The French bourgeoisie also received the same amiable proposal, as unexpected as a blow over the head. It tried to set up some opposition almost to protest but how timidly, how reticently and humbly! France too has been rationed by the grace of Hoover—not to speak of the other states of Europe.

In order to throw a few crumbs to the people who have sunk into misery and despair, they speak and write about a Pan-Europe, of disarmament and other things. Disarmament is in reality only a strengthening of armaments for new imperialist wars, and Pan-Europe is the attempt by France to conceal its weakness, and, under the insignia of French bayonets, to mobilize Europe, Germany included, against Soviet Russia, and under the same trade mark, against the United States of America.

No serious person, including M. Briand, believes that the capitalist regime will succeed in satisfying the needs of the European peoples under the leadership of militarist France. No! The postponement of the war debt payments for a year, which is essentially a secondary question, has only increased the squabblings in Europe. How can one believes that the bourgeoisie will be able to eliminate all the irreconcilable rivalries, appetites and conflicts and to create a united Europe? If the German bourgeoisie, together with its social democracy, has shown its inability to unify democratically at least the German nation then they are even less capable of collaborating effectively in the unification of Europe. **The German nation can be united only by the victorious proletariat.** The same holds true for Europe. A Soviet Germany within a Soviet Europe—that is our solution of the problem. Look at Soviet Russia. We have no need of concealing the weaknesses and the wounds, which constitute the terrible heritage of the past, we have no need of idealizing the present situation. It is a transitional stage, with all its contradictions and torments. But can our misery be compared for a single instant with the hopeful perspectives opened up by the proletarian revolution in Russia? Imagine for a moment that this method of concentrated planned economy were based not or not only upon the backward productive forces of Russia but also upon German economy and technique, upon the ability of the German worker and technician—what vast perspectives and possibilities would then be opened up before the whole of humanity! That this has not been realized at least in part is primarily the fault of the social democracy.

Proletarian Revolution Only Hope

The European peoples have already seen their ruling classes in all sorts of possibilities, of situations, and of combinations, and have put them to the test. Salvation cannot come from that source; the salvation of Germany can only be realized by the victorious proletarian revolution. Only the victorious proletarian revolution can create a unitetd and powerful Germany which will be a part of the Soviet Federation of **Europe.**

The Fascists who want to do away with the Prussian Landtag only because they see in it an obstacle on the road to the enslavement and the real national Mussolinization of Germany, these Mussolinists also speak of a revolution, that is, in contrast to us Marxists-Bolsheviks, of a people's revolution which they oppose to the proletarian revolution. We have nothing in common with this. It is evidently a question of a revolution that would be of benefit to all the peoples of Europe, and in the long run, to all of humanity, but such a revolution can be carried through only by the victorious proletariat, making its will the law of the state. Under this ambiguous formula of the people's revolution, we find highly chauvinist elements like Lieutenant Scheringer penetrating into the ranks of the proletarian vanguard in order to upset, to wipe out and to poison its international conceptions. People of this type speak of the "national" emancipation of Germany by a war against the Western powers. To this end, they are ready to sacrifice the forces of the proletariat to national interests, and to use them as cannon fodder. No, this is not our standpoint. We do not separate the fate of Germany from the fate of Soviet Russia, of Europe and of the whole world. **Our program is not the "national" emancipation of Germany, but the salvation of Europe by the proletarian revolution.** We know of no other salvation than socialism for the destitute threatened by crisis, unemployment and war. But we understand socialism not nationally but internationally. The workers of the Soviet Union have set a magnificant example; they have made a practical beginning with socialist construction. This work can be ended only by being extended over an increasing number of states, in the first place on the European continent. Then the Soviet Union will form the natural bridge to awakened Asia, and this will be the road to the socialist world federation.

Revolutionary Flames in Spain

At the other extreme of the Soviet Union there now bursts forth the great flame of the revolution. The revolutionary proletariat of Spain is already advancing the slogan of Soviets. This slogan is as inextinguishable and indestructible as the proletariat itself. The course of development is only passing through its first stage there. Our magnificant brothers of Spain, of Catalonia and of Biscaye, with their marvelous temperament and spirit of sacrifice, will not bring their revolution to a halt at the Ebert-Zamora stage; supported by the poor despoiled peasantry, they will march uninterruptedly to the complete victory of the proletarian revolution. The masters of France—not without cause—look wordriedly upon the events on the other side of the Pyrenees, and in the near future, —we are sure—the old historical watchword: "There are no more Pyrenees" will become a revolutionary reality.

No, a thousand times, no. Not from Locarno, not from Chequers, not from the White House at Washington, from the gilded caves of cupidity and blood-drenched intrigue will come liberty and salvation for the German and other peoples; only the proletariat, relying upon its own forces, will be able to liberate itself, that is the only road to the emancipation of Europe from the yoke of capitalism.

The revolution is a harsh means which demands great sacrifies. But these sacrifices must be made, for there is no other way of liberation than the proletarian revolution. Against permanent misery, against the permanent mutual devouring of the people, against the permanent lies and intrigues of the heads of the capitalist nations and naturally of ours also, **we raise the slogan of the permanent revolution of the proletariat.** This is the banner under which stands the Communist Left Opposition, the Bolshevik-Leninists, which is an international faction of world Communism, to which I belong and in whose name I speak from this tribune. If today we are still compelled to fight against the Fascists, it is above all the fault of the social democratic leadership which strangled the revolution of 1918 before it had gone half way, before it had even gone a quarter way in its course.

(Turning to the Right). If in 1918 you had not had these friends—the social democrats—you would not be sitting here now. Without these people (pointing to the social democrats) the revolution of 1918 would have dealt differently with you. You would not have come out of the rat holes into which you crawled.

The "Freest Republic"

I have said that the revolutionary proletariat, aside from the fact about which the Fascists want to eliminate the Landtag, have no interest in its preservation. I say quite openly: we too have no interest in maintaining this democratic republic for it is not a democracy for the proletariat but for the bourgeoisie. The "rights" of this democracy are only a snare with a thousand nooses for the workers, and for the exploiting class it is a theater with a thousand exists. There are two sorts of democracy: one for the bourgeoisie—that is the democratic republic: the other for the proletariat—that is the revolutionary djctatorship of the proletariat. It is often said, mainly by the parties of the Center, that we live in the freest republic in the world. It is doubtless futile for me to cite instances to refute this "bold" assertion. One need only look around in order to see how perfectly the blackjack is used against the revolutionary worker. If, for example, the Spartakiad was recently prohibited, such a policy of violence is not always a sign of strength. Has not Mr. Minister Severing said this very day that one must permit even a dying man to show signs of life from time to time?

This "freest republic" in the world accords the right of asylum to all the counter-revolutionists the White Guards of the Soviet Union and elsewhere. But for revolutionists, for Leon Trotsky, the former People's Commissar and organizer of the Red Army of the Soviet Republic, this "freest republic" in the world offers no asylum, any more than all the other capitalist countries.

(Interruption: And Russia?)

To discuss with you as to why he is not in Russia would be just as futile as to batter against the waves of the sea.

(Deputy Leonhardt: A great philosopher!)

You are the greatest, dear colleague.

I shall vote against the referendum proposed by the Fascist organizations and will naturally vote for the proposal of the Communist fraction for the dissolution of the Landtag, because the proletariat, as I have said has no interest in the preservation of this parliament, or in the preservation of parliamentarism in general; **our aim is the extra-parliamentary revolution in permanency, the Soviet republic of Germany in a Soviet Europe as the bridge to the world socialist federation.**

Jobless Meet Sabotaged

(Continued from page 1)

the request that each delegation sign one together with the names of the delegates. The Communist League of America (Opposition) had two delegates, Hugo Oehler and Martin Payer.

After the slips were collected, they were gone over by a couple of the party officials. No credentials committee was elected—neither was any report made by any one as to how many organizations were present, approximate membership, etc. This was all purposely "omitted" because "Trotskyists" were present.

Then Nels Kjar spoke, pointing the two reasons for the conference and explained that the floor was thrown open for discussion. While Nels Kjar was speaking, Rybicki pointed out the two delegates from the Communist Opposition and gave the chairman instructions not to give us the floor. Then in order to make his plans water-tight, Rybicki went through the delegates and caucused up with several of the party members with this result: The speakers came up in 1-2-3 style. The chairman and Rybicki would point to one after the other of those that were lined up—and only they were given the floor. All other handwavings were entirely disregarded.

Finally after seven or eight had spoken, nearly three hours of speeches, Rybicki cut the speech-making by announcing that during the "floor discussion" **The Committee** had **chosen** 25 of those present to be the delegation to go to the Emerson Relief Committee! Who "the committee" was, where it came from, and who gave it authority to **chose** the delegation, Rybicki did not explain. I understand that ideas do not come from nowhere, but I assure you that this "committee" did. Because the conference did not elect any committee and knew nothing whatsoever about it until Magician Rybicki pulled it out of his sleeve.

When the names of the appointees were read off, three of the workers expressed an inability to serve in the delegation. Payer together with two or three other workers, stood up and volunteered. Then Rybicki said that before adjourning the conference, he would read off the completed list of the delegation, and lo and behold, Payer's name had vanished. He was not included. Oehler, Payer and two of the delegates seated near us tried to get the floor to protest. We waved hands, stood up, "comrade-chairmaned"—but the meeting was adjourned in apple pie order.

Payer's protest after the conference to Rybicki who answered curtly with. "You know we wouldn't accept you". Rybicki explained to one of the worker-delegates who persisted in objecting to such tactics of discrimination by saying that Payer was not added to the delegation of 25 because "They already had the right proportion, 50% Negro and 50% white" and "besides there are certain organizations that we have nothing to do with."

Such tactics as these only serve to divorce party leadership from the workers. They discredit the Communist movement. Such tactics as these will give birth to a still-born babe if they are applied in September 13th Unemployment Conference.

The duty of the Left Opposition is to fight and expose the party's policy of grasping their other hand (their auxiliary organizations) and calling it a "united front" of the working class. The duty of every Communist and sympathizer is to fight against the bureaucrats' deliberate strangling of the potential mass unemployment movement. Exert pressure to force the party to hold a **genuine united front unemployment conference** on September 13th. Because only then will we able effectively to resist the police terror, discredit the "Red scare" propaganda and wage a united struggle of employed and unemployed against the miseries of unemployment.

It is interesting to note that when the district organizer, Bill Gebert, spoke, although he linked the "Trotskyists" with the agents of the bosses and denounced us for bolstering up the capitalist system and told the Negroes that the "Trotskyists" were defenders of racial discrimination and Jim Crow laws—nevertheless objective conditions forced him to point out the necessity of adopting block councils and the united front of all working class organizations—unemployment demands "borrowed" from the Opposition. Of course, in true hypocritical fashion, he did not point out that these were "Trotskyist" demands—no, no. Gebert conveniently forgot the origin of the demands, although he did not forget to "connect" us up with a forged membership card got out by the Chicago Real Estate Board. Gebert told the workers assembled: the next time they run across any of the "renegades who call themselves Communists" to—"Well you know what to do." And the chorus of party bureaucrats replied in unison, "Yeh, we'll beat hell out of 'em!"

—MARTIN C. PAYER.

Organization Notes

BOSTON—

With the assistance of comrade Gordon the Boston branch reports that contacts are growing daily, but adds modestly "our activities are increasing slowly but satisfactorily". The police having put up a ban against street meetings, which the official party failed to attempt to break, our group took the initiative and last Friday held a successful meeting. There was a crowd of 200 in attendance, the police met in force and made several threats to arrest the speakers. Nevertheless the meeting was able to conclude in good order, winding up with an appeal to the assembled to attend in force the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration scheduled for the following day.

"The comrades were elated", says the report. "The crowd was militant and responsive. After the meeting, we discussed with party comrades, who were standing in a daze and could not believe their eyes and ears, we who were called counter-revolutionists, holding a meeting for amnesty under the slogans of the I. L. D., calling the workers to a party demonstration and leading the workers in cheers for it. These comrades complained to us about the laziness and negligence of the party. It had not called a single amnesty meeting in Malden during the entire month."

As a result of the increasing activities quite a few revolutionary workers have come to our branch discussion meetings and are preparing to enroll into our class. The branch concludes its report, from which we have taken these excerpts, by an order for more literature. Distribution of our pamphlets has enjoyed a very favorable response. Large quantities were disposed of in connection with the recent showing of the picture "The Five Year Plan".

MINNEAPOLIS—

Two of our comrades, Coover and Dunne were arrested recently for posting bills after a successful street meeting. They were subsequently released by the failure of the arresting cop to find a suitable charge which could stick. The branch reports that street meetings have otherwise gone ahead uninterruptedly and regularly. The branch has also with quite regularity added to its ranks by the admittance of new members.

Our Minneapolis comrades have long been in the lead in keeping a substnatial **Militant** subscription list in the city and keeping it quite well up-to-date. All the efforts of the party-controlled miners' relief committee to keep our representa- uld nevertheless not suc- our members taking up while this strike was on. The comrades report that they were able both to secure funds directly and influence Left wing workers in lending their assistance. Likewise they have made their good contributions to help the Spanish Opposition and in bringing the message of the revolutionary workers of Spain to the attention of Minneapolis workers. In this respect very good results have been obtained by way of meetings at which speakers explained the developments in Spain and in distribution of our pamphlets on the Spanish revolution.

In the Minneapolis trade union field the only Communist actively fighting for the issues of the Left wing are those of the Left Opposition. It became possible therefore to elect several good Left wingers for the Minnesota State Federation convention.

CHICAGO—

New blood has been added to the Chicago branch by the imitation of a couple of new young members. Preparations are now under way for a serious study class for the coming winter. Street meetings are being held regularly. In addition the branch has now for some time been conducting a series of lectures explaining the views of the Left Opposition in regards to events in the labor and revolutionary movement. That the Chicago branch is active in the regular tasks of the movement can be learned by reading the report of the recent Chicago unemployment conference where the official party bureaucrats spared no efforts to keep our representatives out. But even that does not prevent our comrades from doing their duty and their place within the unemployment movement, recognition or no recognition.

NEW YORK

The branch at the center has undoubtedly made a better record than any in the increase of its membership. While new applicants appear regularly the sympathetic circle also records some growth. Two street meetings are conducted regularly each week. New speakers are receiving an elementary training and a number of young energetic comrades animated by the good experiences of Comrade Clarke and Stamm during their recent activities in Cleveland are ready to undertake organization work immediately after our Second Conference.

The New York branch has made quite regular progress in its sympathetic efforts to assign a special field of activity for every member. Most of them are now very active participants in various mass organizations. It has not as yet fully suceeded, however, in effectively mobilizing s many supporters for the general mass demonstrations, but some progress is being made in this respect. Once the New York branch learns better the technique of effective distribution of the Militant and of our literature, it will in the full sense of the word become our banner branch. But in this respect it has still something to learn.

Our Program of Expansion Campaign

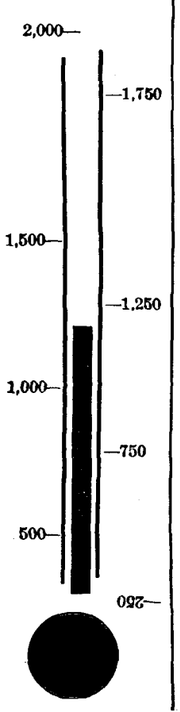
While most of our attention of recent date, in so far as material means are concerned, has been directed toward collecting funds for the help of the Left Opposition in Spain now facing immense revolutionary tasks, nevertheless our program of expansion has not been at a standstill. This holds true both in respect to applying the measures called for as well as furnishing the material means.

We have been able to record expansion. Since the organization of the Pioneer **Publishers,** literature sales have been gradually on the increase. The weekly **Militant** is now sufficiently solidly established to remain. Preparations are in full swing for the Second Conference and a little extra organization efforts are actually being made.

But since the date of the Second Conference is rapidly approaching there is a double urge to just increase the speed of collections so that we may reach the $1500.00 by that date.

The contributions received since last report were as follows:

Minneapolis branch	$17.00
Chicago branch	5.00
Boston branch	3.00
M. Lopez, So. Africa	2.42
New York branch	8.50
Tom Stamm	5.00
New York Wm. Edwards	2.00
New York R. B.	2.00
New York B. J. Fields	25.00
New York L. Stone, Phila.	2.00
Toronto branch	5.40
Total	$75.32
Previously reported Total	$1,177.27
To date	$1,252.59



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